1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

ordered a number of stakes to be stuck up around the *tanungapola* to warn off trespassers until the fishing had been completed.

Members of the resident body of a *tofia* needed no chiefly permission to use any *tanungapola* on that *tofia*. Informants think that in ancient times the first catch went direct to the district chief, who forwarded some to his overlord, the Tui Kanokupolu or the Tui Tonga.

The construction and use of fish traps is said to have been learned from the Samoans. An ancient tapu in Tonga reserved the making of fish traps to the *toutai ika* (professional fishermen) but nowadays this tapu is removed. It was stated that a "fish trap," used anciently in trees with a decoy bird to catch pigeons, was adapted later for use in fishing.

A kind of fish trap (*kau*) was made and used only by the people of Talau, Vavau, about which the following story is told:

Two matapules of the Tui Talau, Mapu and Faingaa, invented (?) the *kau* trap. Their chief, seeing the merits of the invention, excused these men from all other work, and they became local *toutai* (fishers and navigators) and lived like petty chiefs. No one else could make their traps. Later these men taught the trade to a man named Lulu who carried on their work and enjoyed their privileges after their death. Lulu in turn had a successor, name unknown, and so on. Not until King George I freed the people were these traps made by everyone—women as well as men. [As the first Tui Talau and the first Mapu and Faingaa in Tonga are reputed to have been Fijian immigrants, perhaps the *kau* fish trap is a diffused Fijian invention.]

At Tuanekivale, Vavau, were two families whom tradition set aside as specialists in shark fishing:

The title holders in these families, named Palefau and Fetoaui, were called *toutai*, but it is doubtful whether they were so designated by the Tui Tonga. They are said to still exercise their family function. In shark fishing they employed a boat, a bait of pork, and a rope noose. It is said that they could call the sharks about them at will.

It was believed that if while away fishing, things should happen at home to the detriment of the fishers, such as stealing of their property, the sharks could not be caught, no matter how plentiful they might be. In such an emergency, it behooved the fishers to return home and make some sort of peaceful settlement of the difficulty, after which the sharks could readily be caught.

Other Occupations

In modern Tonga tapa is made by coöperative associations of women (*kautaha*). Each woman contributes an equal amount of white tapa strips, which she has previously prepared, and the manufactured goods are shared among the members of the company. The work is done in specially erected houses and usually under the direction of an old woman.

The making of large mats is done by individual women, but a woman may call upon her neighbors to assist her in her work, with the understanding that the same assistance may be asked in return.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

work being practical in its scope. Bottles of coconut oil seen at modern graves are to oil the black pebbles to make them appear even blacker.

The *kilikili*, or other decorative materials, were always placed on the grave by women, among whom were the female relatives of the dead and all neighboring women who contributed their work as *meaofa* (thing of love), which would later be reciprocated. The work and the feasting were accompanied and intervalled by mourning and crying. It is customary to hang wreaths and girdles called *sisi* at graves. Food is not offered to the dead, but mats and tapa may be.

If the dead were of chiefly rank, the ranking male representative of that chiefly family acted as director of the *lanukilikili*. He set the time for doing it and authorized his official matapule to gather materials and perform other necessary work. His wife, or, in the absence of a wife, the closest female representative, directed that part of the work to be done by women. If the dead was of matapule rank, the chief to whom that matapule owed allegiance directed the work as above, the actual managing, of course, being placed in the hands of an appointed matapule.

The following is an account of a recent interment of a woman of high rank, as witnessed by E. E. V. Collocott:

> Mary Siliukitapu, widow of the late Premier Tukuaho, and mother of the Prince Consort Tungi, died on the 29th of July, 1921, and was buried Saturday, the 30th of July in the same grave with her late husband. When the time came for the body to be placed in the vault a large piece of tapa was put up as a screen so that none but the *haatufunga* could see into the grave and behold the remains of Tukuaho. A work song (*tauaalo*) was sung whilst the body was being placed in the grave.
>
> A boy told me afterwards that he had assisted in the burial of a child related to Valu of Utulau. A vault in which a person had been previously buried was opened for the occasion. The boy said that he and others dug the sand off from the top of the vault, lifted the stone slab, and then retired to a distance, so as not to see into the vault. A *haatufunga* man alone was allowed to see the remains already there. When the covering slab was lifted he concealed these remains with tapa. He took the body of the dead child and put it in the grave.

Miss Beatrice Shirley Baker witnessed the opening of the vault in the Langi Olovehi at Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. The vault was in the form of a truncated pyramid with four sides. Its base was about 8 feet long, top about 5 feet long, and depth 4 feet, the stones which formed the sides were about 1 foot thick. The vault was covered by stone slabs about 2 feet thick and 7 feet square which overlapped its mouth. These stones were of a yellowish coral and had a level surface. The body of Tuita which was to be interred was wrapped in fine mats and tapa; it was lowered feet first into the vault, as the opening was too short to allow it being put straight down. Passed round the edge of the slab were ropes for moving it and these were pulled by men standing on the ground below the tomb, as they were not allowed to stand on the terrace, because of the tapu. Only

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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512 The routine as given is for days during the month of January. It is not to be supposed however, that this routine varies greatly for different times of the year. There are no [132] marked seasonal changes in the Tongan climate except the change from a dry to a wet season. This change does not [241] affect the growth of plants to any degree. Hence the villager is cultivating for most of the year, and when he is not 512 cultivating, he is planting. Annual festivities such as Christmas and New Year celebrations, missionary-confer- 527 ences and the like mean a certain crescendo of economic activity because feasting and resting and then more feasting are approved Tongan methods of celebration. This kind of holiday-making can only be prepared for by extensive and increased pre-holiday working activity. Otherwise, as has been stressed, the daily routine is, by and large, the yearly routine.

512 So far we have been considering the daily routine of the villager in terms of the classified statements of a table. In 128 order to give some indication of what this daily routine means in the life of the villager, the following notes are taken from field-notebooks. They serve to show the contrasts between day by day work on the one hand and the activities centred round special celebrations on the other.

512 This is the way life runs in the village today: Bovai is holding a working-party to clear the weeds from his pine- 461 apple plantation. Many men are busy there today—his 476 friends from the Catholic church and his male relatives. They finish work in the early afternoon and then come back [574] to Bovai's house where he has ready for them a large oven-baked feast. Bovai finds this a good way to get large amounts of work done. The men enjoy this kind of work for a change. It is much more sociable, friendly, and satisfying than sweating away alone in the bush with only the persistent mosquitoes for company.

512 Hausia is taking no part in this working party. He is working with the men of his own household on his own 461 plantation. The men take time off during the day to make 592 for themselves an elaborate feast in the bush. One of the boys comes back to the village bringing with him a few baked [574] *taro*-corms and some pieces of baked *manioke*. This snack [262] is for Hausia's wife and the girls of the household who are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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by other villagers. A week of New Year festivity and celebration evidently performs the very useful function in village life of making plantation work appear highly desirable by contrast with the monotony of merry-making.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

644 General supervision over the whole of the island of Pangai because of its nature as a Royal estate is exercised by an overseer resident in Pangai village. His supervision is limited to a general care of all the lands comprising the estate to ensure that there is an adequate food-supply available for all the households of the village. He may report to government officials in Neiafu the names of those heads of households who, he considers, have not planted sufficient land to care for the needs of the household. Pressure and the threat of a possible jail-sentence would then be brought upon such men. Should it become desirable or possible to export more bananas or pineapples from [623] Vava'u, then the overseer would hold a council of the men of the village and give a strong lead and direction to an increased planting programme. At all times the overseer seeks to prevent a wilful misuse of the land or a destruction of its values.

Beyond this land-control, the duties of the overseer seem vague and ill-defined. He functions in the village at times as a sort of government representative. Official announcements of policy or government enactments generally filter through to the villagers from conversations or councils with the overseer. He is also responsible in theory [744] for seeing that laws relating to public health (such a law for instance, as that which relates to the covering of cisterns from which drinking water is drawn) are observed, though in practice the Pangai overseer shows complete indifference to such responsibilities. He maintains a residence in Pangai and another in Neiafu. His duties as estate-overseer are somewhat complicated by the fact that he also functions [502] actively as government pilot for the port of Neiafu. On the balance however, the overseer does add materially at times to the more efficient production of economic goods by the leadership he gives to agricultural activities.

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The work of production in the Tongan village may be carried on either by one man working by himself or else

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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by a group of men or women working together. The lone worker going quietly about his job is decidedly not the preferred pattern of work-organization. The Tongan much prefers to work with one or two friends, or else as part of a larger group working-party. He apparently works much more effectively with the stimulus that comes from being a member of a group than from any individualistic idea of advancing his own interests at the expense of others. Thus from one point of view his working habits may not show a cold, functioning efficiency. This relative lack of efficiency however, as judged by European standards, is more than outweighed for the Tongan by the values associated with working with one's fellows. No matter what the Tongan man or woman is working at, whether exploring the reef or making mats, whether husking coconuts or planting in the bush, one will always find two or more people carrying on the task together. Or if one person only is working, others will be standing or sitting around gossiping, talking, joking about past or present events. The worker must work in or with a group. Otherwise he is lost, forlorn, and uneasy of mind.

The various kinds of working-parties are given names. Thus the family working-group consisting of relatives, is termed *tou kainga ngaue;* the women's mat-making party is *tou lalanga;* a small working partnership of men is called *tou ngaue;* a larger working group is *tou tu'u.* The first two groups do not need detailed description. The family group comes together in the plantation under the direction of the household head and carries on the common task of cultivation. The women's group meets at the house of one of the members and all spend the time making mats together; or else a large group of women meet by arrangement at a set time in the year at the village bark-cloth-making house and make bark cloth while the men of the village prepare special ovens of food for a feast when the work is finished.

The men's group called *tou ngaue* consists of a team of three men working together in a sort of partnership which may last from three or four days up to two weeks. The work done is generally planting or hoeing. On the first day the men work together in A's plantation, on the second day in B's garden and on the third day in C's garden, repeating

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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461 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished.
464 Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land
476 the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven
571 to feed his companions.

This method of working is common village practice. In
461 discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on
464 work-habits which show how this type of partnership may
476 sometimes function. This informant said he never worked
571 in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done
124 by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this
[183] respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work. Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his companions and so little work is done by the end of the day. Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three,
[157] only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did not realize the situation. The three men were the best of friends and for many days on end were to be observed going to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity, the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of its members and get enough work done to make such organization worth while.

461 The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*,
476 functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-
464 land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from
241 ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section
571 of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and
[43] generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*, or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this
[425] first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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the activities of the working-group he has had his land cleared in return for giving up one year's harvest from the land.

The owner of the land may also call together working-parties of friends and relatives for a day's work on his land whenever he wants to carry out some large-scale operation, such as clearing, planting, or making copra. From five to twenty men may help him with cultivation, or any number up to thirty men and women may participate in a copra-cutting group. The leader prepares a large feast in the bush consisting of staple foods together with relishes of pork, fish, and chicken, as a token of thanks to the working group. Whenever a group works together, each for his own interests, the feast has no part, but working in the group serves to lighten the burden of work. Only when the working party has come together to work to the advantage of one of its members is food prepared and offered to the group as a return for services rendered.

(574)

HOUSE-BUILDING

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The villager wishing to build and own a Tongan-style house must first prepare large quantities of food for his workers and also large quantities of sennit *(kafa)* with which to fasten the house together. The preparations for a large house may take at least one year to complete. During this year pigs would be obtained and fattened, the requisite timbers and poles brought in from the plantations, sennit would be made and extra amounts of food-staples would be planted.

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Even for a smaller house at least six thousand feet of sennit is necessary. To prepare this, the prospective owner collects from his plantation about one hundred coconuts of the *niu kafa* variety (nuts with an especially long husk). He is assisted by several of his friends whom he feeds while working with him. The nuts are husked and the husks placed in a large, specially prepared oven. This oven is about eight feet long, eight feet wide, and three to four feet deep. The bottom is lined with stones and further stones are placed on top of the wood. After the wood has burnt down, the coconut husks are placed in the oven, the oven

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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342 283 closed, and the husks baked for about four days. Then the oven is opened, the husks removed and buried in the reef shallows for a further three or four days. Then the husks are placed on a wooden base and pounded with a wooden pounder until all the inter-fibrous material is removed. The fibres are dried and are now ready for braiding.

342 283 464 476 The braiding is done by a working-party consisting of men and women who are invited to a *kava* party. The fibres are rolled on the thigh or sole of the foot and are made into three-ply braid. Half a dozen men and women, working industriously will probably braid up to one hundred fathoms in a long evening's work. Until the required amount is finished, the prospective owner will use all his spare time braiding this sennit.

342 335 463 If the house is to be well built and something to be proud of, it is necessary to engage the services of an expert builder to supervise the building, lay out the framework, fit the poles and beams securely and neatly, and to tie the more ornamental and complicated lashings. If such an expert is not a relative, he is given today for his services a gift of perhaps [465] two pounds in cash for a one-fathom house, six pounds for a two-fathom house and proportionately more for a larger house. The size of the house is referred to in terms of the length of the rectangular central portion of the house, excluding the extra length provided by the apsidal ends. [461] A two-fathom house may take some two weeks to build if the work is carried on without major interruptions. If the expert is a member of the household or a relative, he would expect only a gift of a large pig together with food-staples for his services.

342 464 476 The heavy work of building and thatching together with all minor jobs are carried out by a working-party made up of members of the household, relatives, and friends. The workers are fed generously by the house-owner. Women make all the thatching-sheets, wall-mats and floor-mats. They also help prepare the food for the workers. The division of labour and the organization of work are such that many are called upon to help before the structure is at last completed.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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land. Tree stumps may be left in the ground or an attempt made to burn them out. Depending upon the area to be cleared and the urgency involved, this work may be done by the men of the household, by a working-partnership of several men, or else many men may be invited to participate, each clearing a small section in return for the first yam-harvest from the section cleared. Again, depending upon taste and other factors of choice, one or more of several different kinds of tubers may be planted in quantity.

Taro is easy to grow. Cuttings are planted and re-planted each time tubers are harvested. The tuber takes about a year to mature. The giant *taro (kape)* is best planted between the months of March to September. It takes about eighteen months to mature. The gardens are occasionally hoed to keep back the growth of weeds.

The sweet potato is also an easy tuber to grow. It is best planted in the months between March and October. It is planted in big hills, perhaps five hundred hills at a single planting. The tuber takes from four to five months to mature. The garden is hoed once during this time.

Plantain shoots are planted from June to January. The tree takes about one year to mature and at the end of this time about five shoots may be replanted from this one tree. A man will have between forty and one hundred plantains growing in his garden.

Breadfruit takes up to five years before it bears a good crop. Coconuts take about four years to mature. The coconut is generally self-seeding though plants may be cultivated if the land is poor in coconut-production. Papaia, a staple article of diet, is self-seeding. No attempt is made to cultivate this fruit. Pineapples may be planted at any time of the year, requiring about a year before the fruit is ready to harvest. Mango, oranges, limes, and lemons are not cultivated but grow wild. Watermelons are planted between June and March, but because of the ravages of the fruit fly, cultivation is hazardous.

It is on the yam however, that the village cultivator lavishes most care and attention. The yam is considered one of the most delicate-tasting of Tongan tubers and the best of Tongan foods. The first yams of the new season are

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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This sample is too small, but for what it is worth in the absence of a larger sample, the correlation coefficients between labour and production and between land and production suggest that money income varies more readily with the quantity of labour available than with the amount of land; i.e. a man is more likely to obtain a greater income by working harder than by increasing his land holding.[27] Uneven as it is, therefore, the distribution of land exerts only a minimal influence upon the amount of money obtained. This may partly explain why an uneven distribution of land tends to be left undisturbed; but this latter tendency may be tolerable only at the present level of economic development and may tend to disappear at a higher level.

6—Land Use and Labour

The legal provision relating to the planting of coconuts at intervals of 30 feet is, by and large, followed consistently on the majority of the *api* I have seen. Amongst the coconut trees there would be food and cash crops of several types, bananas, taro, yams, sweet potatoes, *manioke*, and even pineapples and water melons. In general, these are not planted in sharply defined plots but are interspersed one amongst the others, so that in an intensively cultivated *api*, members of all species would be found on each square chain of ground. This is more or less the general pattern, although there may be varying degrees of emphasis upon particular crops in particular parts of the *api*. Varying the pattern of emphasis would appear to me to play a similar role to straight out rotation.

The coconut trees belong to the planter but are heritable with the land on his death or secession; and as their normal productive life is 50 or 60 years, they may change hands several times during their lifetime.[28] But the other crops, requiring from three to eighteen months to mature, are the property of the planter, whether he be the legal holder of the land or not.

The distinction between permanent and annual crops makes it easier to understand all the sharing of *api* referred to in the previous section. For while the current holder of an *api* owns the coconut trees and other permanent resources, he need not have the whole *api* under the less permanent crops at any one time.[29] This gives him room to permit a friend or relative to plant for himself a crop of taro or yams

[27] My calculations produced correlation coefficients of $r = .32$ and $r = .54$ for land and labour respectively.

[28] The evidence of the 107 *api* which I studied shows that several of them had changed hands twice or thrice in the previous five or six years.

[29] The Beagleholes quote a man who estimated that up to twenty cultivators and their families can live off one *api*, Beaglehole 1941:18, but it is not clear whether this refers to an ordinary *api* of 8½ acres or to one of the larger ones which may be up to 20 acres in area, Beaglehole 1941.17. In this connection it may be interesting to note that in a village of about twenty households which I studied in Fiji, the total area covered by food crops in various stages of development was found by detailed measurement to be 8.1 acres for all households.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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on a section of it, always on the understanding that the holder has the right to demand it back after the crop is taken out. No rights other than those of cultivation accrue to the borrower. Although such an arrangement involves definitely no rent in money or in kind, it is advantageous to the allotment holder in that the section so lent is thereby kept free from weeds and heavy undergrowth.[30] The fact that no rent is involved actually strengthens the hand of the holder when he demands his land back. As far as rights to land are concerned, the same principles apply when a man uses part of the *api* legally held by his brother, or when a number of brothers use the *api* of their father.

Individual land holders can call upon several types of *work groups* to assist them in working their land. The most important work group is the household which, under the leadership of the head of household, performs most of the day-to-day tasks of cultivation. Its importance lies in its relative permanence. For while the other work groups considered below come into operation only in connection with the heaviest tasks such as clearing and occasionally planting, and therefore tend to be relatively impermanent, the household deals with the constantly recurring need for weeding and other minor tasks, and is the only unit which can engage in long term planning on the basis of its own self-interest. It is the basic unit of production and consumption; and its members are bound together by common interests which transcend the economic sphere. Its significance needs no further elaboration. But beyond this unit, three other types of work group are found: the *tou ngaue*, the *kautaha* and the *tou lalaga*.

The *tou ngaue* is a working party which may comprise anything from two or three men to about eight or nine, the members of which work co-operatively for each of the members in turn. The members are not fed by the person for whom they are working as in the case of Pangai reported by the Beagleholes,[31] but each feeds himself and then goes back to work. In this way they achieve the ends which demand co-operative work, but avoid the encumbrance of preparing food for others. At the time of my investigation, there were three *tou ngaue* in the village under investigation. Their memberships were 3, 5, and 8 men respectively.

Kinship does not appear to play an important part in the formation of these groups. While there are occasional *tou ngaue* which have a large proportion of members who are kin, the principle of kinship does not specifically enter into the definition of the *tou ngaue* as such. When asked whom he would choose to be members of his *tou ngaue*, a man once replied, "My friends". But when pressed further to define what he meant by "friends", he said, "Those who work hard on my plantation". "Would you choose your brothers or close relatives particularly?" "No". The relationship seems therefore to be a purely economic one.

[30] The sort of arrangement involved in the work group known as the *tou tu'u* described by the Beagleholes is particularly interesting in this regard, Beaglehole 1941:33-34.

[31] Beaglehole 1941:32.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
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The *kautaha* is described by one informant as a "big society". It is formed for a specific purpose and joined by men interested in achieving this purpose. One example would make the matter clear. In one village I visited there was a *kautaha* with a membership of about 40 men, comprising the majority of the adult males in the village, which was formed for the purpose of extending banana plantations. The overall target was that each member should have 1,000 banana shoots planted strictly for himself by a certain day in December; and once this overall aim was agreed upon, they split themselves up into four *tou ngaue* of 9 or 10 members each for the purpose of actually doing the work on the land. While the *kautaha* as a whole was interested in the progress of its members towards the target, the actual organisation of work was left to the various *tou ngaue*: these were the media through which the members ensured that their own bananas were planted. A lot of hard work was carried out in clearing the bush and planting the shoots, and on the appointed day the leading members of the *kautaha* did a complete tour of the plantations of each member to ensure formally for the *kautaha* that the bananas had actually been planted. It was an almost ceremonial affair, ending with the consumption of an elaborate feast.

The *tou lalaga* is the women's work group formed for the making of *tapa* cloth. The task of joining together pieces of beaten bark into large pieces of *tapa* cloth is a laborious one requiring the labour of many hands, and for this purpose women would call upon their friends to come and help. The friends in their turn would call on their own friends, and in the end 50 or more women may be involved. In this case the women are fed by the owner of the *tapa* cloth.

7—Kinship and Land Use

There are two important ways in which fully autonomous households may be connected with one another through use of the land which they work. In the first place, when land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the *api* of others or by using the *api* of those who are away from the village. In the second place, a group of brothers or of a father and his sons, although living in separate households and owning separate *api* at law, may combine together their entire holdings and work them as a single unit. In the village under study there were two clear-cut cases of this sort. In each case the *api* concerned were contiguous, and clearing, at which the men concerned worked together, ranged from one *api* into the next. Copra was certainly produced jointly and the proceeds controlled by the senior member; but I am uncertain whether food gardens were individually owned.

In both cases, kinship is an important factor in the alignment of households. Of the 19 households that share the use of the *api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village anyway, leaving only 4 which

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5. (1957-1958) 1959
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share with unrelated households in preference to sharing with related ones.[32]

One of my informants deliberately played down the role of kinship in land matters. He argued that landless people share the use of the land of their friends, people with whom they are on specially good terms; people who are closely associated in other spheres of activity, such as the religious or the economic; and above all one tries to obtain the use of lands which are specially fertile or which lie near to the village. While "friends" here may include relatives, this is not necessary. Such an explanation would, of course, cover the cases which, from other points of view, appear to be inexplicable random variations; and at the same time show how "open" relations through the land can be, giving the land tenure system much of its flexibility.

Thus it has appeared that kinship plays no great part in the organisation of labour, but a perceptibly greater part in the handling of the land resources available to the community. But kinship not only affects the people's relation to their land in the way already indicated; it also does so through inheritance. The rules of inheritance have already been given, but it may be added here that it is through inheritance that particular individuals come to control a duplication of *api*;[33] that females can hold land; and that the title to *tofia* holdings is passed on from one generation to the next in the chiefly line thus perpetuating and strengthening the most important factor for political control in the kingdom.

In the village under investigation, however, the range of kin recognized for these purposes does not seem to extend very far. While there are clusters of households between whom there are specially strong ties of kinship, the great majority of them recognize such relations with only one or two other households. The count taken, from one household to the next, reveals that in most cases these relations are based on affinal ties. The range of connections over the whole village is as follows:

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF KIN AMONG HOUSEHOLDS

No. of Other Households containing Kin	No. of Households
0	18
1	21
2	28
3	16
4	11
5	8
6	4
	106

[32] The reasons for such preference are obscure, but the explanations given to me were largely in terms of economic self-interest. See, for instance, the section on work groups, p. 108.

[33] See, for instance, Beaglehole 1941:18.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Those kinsmen who help and are invited vary according to the scale of *fakaafe*. For example, 16 gave one of the biggest *fakaafe*. Those who gathered for cooking on this occasion were his half brother (24), his mother's half brother (28) with his son (23), his father's father's brother (22), his wife's brother (15), and 21's daughter's husband, between whom and 16 the relationship was not clear. They all belong to the Free Wesleyan Church except 15 and 21's daughter's husband, who are Mormons. The villagers stress that the feast is offered to the God, not for themselves, and they know that the feast is under the prescription of the church. The privilege of giving the feast is conferred by the steward, who also selects *malanga* to be invited, but those who help and attend it are not necessarily the same sect members. In case of 2, a member of the Free Church of Tonga, he invited his mother's sister's sons with their wives (33) and 9's daughter of twelve years old, all of whom are Catholic, and his daughter with her husband (8), members of the Free Wesleyan Church. He invited no one except *malanga* from his own church. Mutual help among relatives is still found on such an occasion of religious character. Yet, this does not mean that those who participate are selected on the basis of *famili* or *famili* organisation. There seems no particular rule for selecting the participants.

On the last day of *uike lotu* (a prayer week in the beginning of the new year), Pualiki gave one of the biggest feasts in the name of his second son. Eighteen pigs and more than twenty chickens were cooked for this feast, and over twenty men helped the famil yin preparation. Pualiki was helped by one or two men each from 14, 10, 1 (his sons' households), 34, 18, 31 (his brothers' households), 7, 6. 20, 23 (the households of his mother's relations); four men from 4 (the household of his father's relation); three men from 9 (the household not related).

It is difficult from this list to determine which side of his relations helped him more.

Land Use

According to Tongan law, every male Tongan on reaching sixteen years of age, is entitled to receive a grant of 8¼ acres as *api tukuhau* and 1 rood 24 perches as *api kolo*. But the actual circumstance is not always in accord with the law. Even in Nukuleka, which is the Government Estate, only 21 men over sixteen years of age have *api tukuhau*, while 28 have not. Among the 28 men, there are those who are not married or, even if married, are still living with their father or wife's father or elder brother who have *api tukuhau* in the same households. The remaining 11 men out of the 28 keep nevertheless their own independent households. The following are the relations from whom these 11 men borrow part of *api tukuhau* for cultivating: father; mother (she has received it from her second husband); mother's half brother; grandfather and his brothers; father's mother's sister's son; the third cousin; wife's father; wife's mother; wife's brother and her sister's husband; one who is not related; Catholic Church.

It is evident that all except two men borrow the land from their *famili* or wife's *famili*. *Famili* members should help each other. They

take care of (tauhi) them (the old couple)".

Besides expenditures for everyday material needs, a household must have the cash for periodic outlays to pay members' expenses such as income taxes, the annual poll tax on every male over the age of fifteen, church contributions, and schooling expenses for the children, as well as to buy store-bought goods such as clothing and fabric, households utensils, and other implements. Such purchases and expenditures generally require relatively large cash outlays that are seldom provided for through systematic savings. Instead, members of the household make a special effort to assemble the money shortly before it is needed. Men collect coconuts to make copra, or else sell the undried coconuts directly to the Tonga Copra Board, while women prepare handicrafts for sale to tourists (especially the tourists who flood in on the periodic one-day stopovers of cruise ships that visit Tonga). There is noticably more copra-making activity and also a particularly well-stocked handicrafts bazaar in the weeks preceding a new school term, when money is needed for books, uniforms, and school fees. Usually, people try to make more money than is needed for the major outlay at hand. What is left is doled out to provide cash for everyday needs until another major effort is made.

Finally, a household must have the means for its

592 members to make adequate contributions of goods and labor
511 on a wide range of ceremonial occcasions that occur at
476 irregular intervals throughout the year such as feasts,
621 funerals, and weddings. There is a class of goods called koloa ('treasure') that come into play only on ceremonial [285] occasions. These consist mainly of finely-woven mats of [287] various kinds (kie, fihu, and ngafingafi) and decorated [554] tapa-cloth (ngatu). Koloa, which is amassed through [431] manufacture by women of the household or through previous ceremonial prestation to members of the household, is used to express status relations between giver and receiver on occasions such as weddings and funerals.[7] [431] If one does not have koloa, one cannot participate in ceremonial exchanges, and not to do so is to be outside the system of rights and obligations that are the founda-
592 tion of anga faka-Tonga ('the Tongan way'). Similarly,
621 to participate in the community, a household must give
476 feasts and contribute to others' feasts. Contributions
574 [262] consist mainly of appropriate livestock or other foods: pigs, chickens, lobsters, tinned beef, yams, watermelon --in sum, feast food. To some extent, services such as assistance in preparing and serving the feast can be

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7 For descriptions of ceremonial exchanges in Tonga, see Aoyagi (1966: 167-172), Beaglehole (1941: 91-98), and Collocott (1923: 221-225).

592 substituted for contributions of food. Especially close
621 friends and relatives will usually provide both goods and
476
574 services.

574 It may be useful at this point to describe what is involved in hosting a feast, for the magnitude of the undertaking must be appreciated in order to understand the significance of feasting in the organization of [285] Tongan society at the local level. Feasts are served on pola, mats of woven coconut-leaf about eight feet long by three feet wide, at which eight to ten people can be seated. A feast is described in terms of the number of pola, which gives an indication of the number of guests, and evaluated in terms of the number and size of the pigs presented, for this is the criterion of lavishness. Most feasts in Motulahi had from two to four pola. An adequate pola at a feast in Motulahi would generally include three or four suckling pigs and about the same number of large yams and bundles of lū (a cooked food).[8]

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[648] 8 The most lavish pola that I ever saw was one of five prepared by the people of Motulahi for the national feast held on the occasion of the visit to Tonga of Queen Elizabeth of England (see Chapter VI). That pola comprised the following items, piled to a height of about twenty inches: 9 spit-roasted suckling pigs, ranged in two rows down the middle of the pola, tail to snout; 13 large pieces of pork from one big pig, cooked by steaming in an earth oven; 9 bundles of lū kapa pulu (lū is a kind of steamed food, prepared by wrapping about ½-lb. of filling, in this case tinned corned beef--kapa pulu--in taro leaves

574 These amounts reflect the relatively high standard of
511 living on Tongatapu in 1969-70; people living on the more remote islands, with restricted sources of income, would have less lavish pola.

592 According to my estimate, there were only five
574 households in Motulahi that could afford to sponsor a
* 476 feast without assistance. Yet almost every household in
[511] the village manages to host at least one feast every
[431] twelve to fifteen months. They are able to do so because they are assisted by contributions of food and labor from the households of a wide range of relatives and other

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[648]--the lū, and placing this in an outer wrapping of banana leaves and steaming it in the earth oven); 5 bundles of lū pulu māsima (lū with salt beef) and 8 bundles of other lū with assorted fillings of various seafoods; 3 large fish and 2 medium-sized fish (steamed whole in the earth oven), and 4 small fish (roasted over an open fire); 8 boiled chickens and 12 lobsters, also boiled; 23 bundles of faikakai (a steamed sweet pudding), 10 large yams and 11 large sweet potatoes, all cooked in the earth oven; and, to complete the pola, 10 drinking coconuts, 10 small dishes of various cold meats and fish, ripe plantains and bananas stuck wherever there was a gap too small to be filled with anything larger, 1½ 20-lb. watermelons cut in large serving slices, and three plates of sliced store-bought fruit cake. The only standard feast food not presented on the pola was bowls of fruit salad with icecream (omitted because the icecream would have melted before it could be served). It took eight men, each accustomed to carrying 50-lb. bunches of bananas, to carry the pola in triumph, shoulder high, to the waiting truck that would transport it to the feast site in Nuku'alofa. The pola was so magnificent that it was selected for presentation as one of five pola placed in the Royal enclosure The other pola in the Royal enclosure were prepared in the Palace kitchens.

associates whom they have assisted in the past. This is not to say that the household is considered to be the unit that makes the contributions, for contributions are viewed as coming from individuals. The household itself is the unit in feasting activities only when a member of the household is hosting the feast. Nevertheless, when a person makes contributions to a feast at another household, he does this with goods from the common pool of resources in his own household. The greater a household's participation as a contributor through the contributions of its members, the more assistance the household will receive when it comes time for a household member to act as host.

While a household is not expected to be self-sufficient when it comes to hosting a feast, it must be able, in one way or another, to provide for the other material needs of its members (i.e., everyday material requirements, periodic cash outlays, and the means of making adequate contributions on ceremonial occasions). To do so, however, the household must have the means of access either to the products of an agricultural allotment or to the income from some job, and preferably both. Without one or the other, no household in Tonga is viable (although it is true that there is less need for cash on the more remote islands, and less likelihood of access to a job away from Tongatapu).

In 1970, 42 households in Motulahi had no source of

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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592 other material needs of a household are provided for if
423 the household has access to an agricultural allotment. According to my survey, people resident in Motulahi claimed control over a total of 166 allotments (see Table 15). However, this figure is not meaningful in relation to the question of providing for the everyday needs of Motulahi households. This is because it included both allotments under the effective control of Motulahi residents although they were registered in the names of people who lived elsewhere, and allotments on other islands that were registered in the names of people living in Motulahi but which were not accessible to them and were not under their control for subsistence purposes. Thus, in considering the operation of the system of land tenure at the local level, what is important for household economics is who has effective working control over an allotment. More to the point, therefore, of the 166 allotments, 93 were in Motulahi and 21 were elsewhere on Tongatapu; these could be worked on a regular basis while living in Motulahi. These allotments were controlled by people who lived in 90 households in Motulahi. There remained 55 households that did not have control over an allotment that could be farmed while living in Motulahi, of which 31 households had no allotment at all.

592 Even if no member of the household has control over
423 an allotment that can be farmed while living in Motulahi,
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592 someone who has an accessible allotment may permit members
423 of the landless household to have access to his land to
476 grow short-term food crops and to pick coconuts (or, less commonly, to help the allotment owner raise his crops and receive a share of the harvest). In his study of land tenure and social organization in a village on Tongatapu, Nayacakalou makes the following observations regarding the sharing of land:

> Of the 27 households which have no api of their own in the village [out of a total of 106 households], 4 have api in another village, 4 others are using api the owners of which are away, and the remaining 19 share the use of the api of others (1959: 105).

He goes on to make this comment:

> When land is short and a number of families have to go without, they can usually make do by sharing the use of the api of others or by using the api of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the api of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959: 109).

592 In Motulahi, both the allotment-holders concerned and the
423 people who were given access to their land assured me that there was no material consideration involved in providing
[431] such access (which would be illegal). At most, they said, the allotment owner might be given a few baskets of produce as a gift, but this was not a matter of payment. Other informants, however, asserted that this was not all there was to it in some cases, and told me the details

612 descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another; nevertheless, the members of any one household probably would not be members of more than one fāmili. The reason is that fāmili membership is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in fāmilí activites, and this is difficult to sustain with more than one fāmili at a time. This does not mean that a person will say that he is a member of one fāmili and not a member of another in which he might equally be a member, for there is no such thing as formal membership and therefore no need to make such a declaration. But he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one fāmili rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that fāmili, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.

612
476 Participation in fāmili activities includes the contribution of material goods and labor on ceremonial occasions. Members of the fāmili are expected to make contributions and to participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they require it. Indeed, the fact that one does not have to ask members of the fāmili for their contributions on ceremonial occasions is an important point of contrast between people who are fāmili members and those who are merely kainga to one another, for the

612 Kainga is also a resource group. However, while it is
476 appropriate for kainga to provide assistance (especially
[554] assistance in the form of providing access to land and other capital goods), to ask kainga for any assistance if they are not also members of one's fāmili puts one in a subordinate supplicatory position, which is not true for provision of assistance within the fāmili. Nevertheless, one would go to non-fāmili members of one's kainga to ask for something if fāmili members are not able to provide it (e.g., short-term use of land to grow watermelon or some other cash crop). Thus, the kainga is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the fāmili.

612 Besides contributions on ceremonial occasions and such major assistance as providing access to land, participation in fāmili activities and the obligations of fāmili membership involve continual informal interaction with other member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together on the land and around the house (such as doing the laundry together), and sending small gifts of food back and forth. Thus, a kinship connection is no more than a necessary condition for establishing an acceptable claim to membership in the fāmili. Membership must continually be activated by participation in the activities of the fāmili. So long as a person continues to fulfill the obligations of fāmili membership, he or she remains a

612 (The extent of the old and new fāmili's involvement in
423 ceremonial activities might be a factor in deciding this, although access to land is probably the most common factor.)
612 Thus, the researcher is confronted with confusing data,
124 with nameless unbounded groups and floating memberships. To study fāmili structure, on the one hand, and the range and kinds of local obligations that any one person might involved in, on the other, the investigator must watch who visits whom, and go about at feasts counting pigs and yams, and ask who brought the pigs and who is helping to cook
612 the yams. The data are further complicated by the fact
476 that a person is not obliged to make contributions only to his own fāmili. The fact that a person is helping out or has made a contribution of food at the feast of someone who is not a member of his own fāmili does not necessarily signify that that person is in process of switching fāmili affiliation. He may be doing it because he is a friend of the feast-giver or a closely related kinsman or there may be some other reason relating to special circumstances of their relationship. Perhaps the helper wishes to put the feast-giver under obligation to himself, or owes him a
[124] favor. No single occasion, therefore, will tell the entire story; instead, the anthropologist (or the interested local observer) must keep track of such behavior over the course of a number of episodes and some period of time.

562 517 883 [526] do not necessarily associate with members of their own denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls' [571] basketball teams. They also do a lot of *'eva pē* ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

562 885 [582] [794] [276] [574] Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young man has married and begun to settle down. From then on, the time that he spends outside his own household but away from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of 794 one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of 562 Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large 574 296 enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward 794 of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in 562 economic activities beyond his own household with members 476 of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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7 Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

794 knew of five instances in Motulahi in 1969 in which men
562 became partners for a season of watermelon growing, and
776 in four cases they were members of the same congregation.
[461] Similarly, a senior member of the Roman Catholic congregation, who owns one of the packing sheds in the village, generally employs only members of his own
[602] congregation when he requires assistance. If these
[554] associates are also kinsmen, so much the better, for he is then also gaining merit by being a patron to his kinsmen and binding them to him; but the kin tie is not
794 essential. In contrast to this, women have a reverse
562 order of priorities in choosing associates. For example,
602 461 if a woman organizes a day of tapa-painting, women of her famili will form the basis of the work party, supplemented in some instances by non-kinswomen who are linked to her as neighbors or as members of her congregation.

794 The emphasis on associating with men of one's own
562 congregation is due to the fact that the local congregation
554 is the major arena of prestige-acquisition for men. A man who seeks to increase his standing in the village cannot hope to do so without the participation and support of his
[574] fellow congregants. A feast giver, for example, must be associated with respectable people who he can invite to his feasts, so that he can gain the prestige that is to be
[574] derived from these displays. The higher the status of his

312 days. It worked on and off for a few months and then in
365 mid-April there was another three-week period in which there was no piped water in the village. During such periods people use the rain water that has accumulated in storage drums and in the village water tank; indeed, it is my impression that depletion of the rain-water is what motivates whichever person takes the initiative
312 to re-activate the tap-water system. There are statutory
624 regulations that provide for the establishment of a Water
365 Committee in each village to see to collecting the money and overseeing the labor necessary for keeping the village water system in continual working order. In most villages, however, the committees exist in name only, and this is also true in Motulahi.

571 It might be inferred from these data that Tongan villagers are somehow incapable of working for the common good or that they are unwilling to cooperate beyond their own kin-groups and congregations. However, the following
872 data will serve as a counter-example. The government
658 primary school in Motulahi has a reputation as a fine school and there has been considerable growth in the student
872 population over the years. By 1969 there was beginning to
476 be a severe problem of insufficient classrooms and classes doubling up in the same room. Finally, in October 1969, after raising half the costs of the building materials,

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872 villagers from Motulahi built three additional classrooms,
476 working over a two-week period together with people from the four neighboring villages that are also served by the school.[12] A total of sixty-four men and women from Motulahi were involved in this labor--all but two of whom had at least one child in their household who was currently a student at the school--and most of them were at the work-site every day. At the end of this period of very intensive effort there were three new classrooms, and the local School Committee, which had coordinated all the effort, resumed its inactivity.

575 To understand why the classroom project was a success while the water system functions less effectively, it is instructive to consider another type of group that is found in Tonga at the local level, namely, voluntary associations (kautaha). The voluntary associations that I encountered in Tongan villages, as well as those I was told about in other villages, have the following features:

1. In contrast to such groups as the congregation and the fāmili, both of which are multi-purpose and situational-

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653 658 12. This local effort is part of a national program in which village men perform the labor in building the classrooms and the women provide a common meal served at the worksite three times each day, while construction is supervized by the Government's Department of Public Works and the Public Works Department provides the other half of the costs of the building materials.

575 adaptive, all the voluntary associations are task-oriented
575 groups formed for specific purposes. For example, there
437 was the Kautaha Fisi ('the Fiji Society'), which consisted of a group of fifteen women in Motulahi who had entered into an exchange relationship with a similar group in a village in Fiji. They gave woven pandanus mats, scented coconut oil, and tapacloth in exchange for wooden chests and mosquito netting. The arrangement had been set up through the mediation of a daughter of one of the Motulahi women, who was married to a Fijian and lived in the Fijian village. The arrangement lasted for a year and a half, during which period two exchanges were made; the second took place during the period of my fieldwork. I learned that three of the older women, who were the leaders of the kautaha, had participated in a Kautaha Fisi some years previously. They told me that they considered this sort of institution to be an excellent way of obtaining scarce and/or expensive goods in return for their own home-made
575 products. Another kautaha that I encountered in Motulahi
476 was a kau ngāue ('labor gang'), consisting of twelve men from the village who worked as a team on a construction
575 project outside the village. Yet another kind of kautaha
454 is the kautaha lī pa'anga ('savings association'), which may be organized for a variety of purposes. The one I knew in Motulahi consisted of six couples who kept a joint

account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met for a social evening once a month. On these occasions, each couple brought the amount of money that had been agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation. Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga described above were related to one another as siblings; all were adherents of the same denomination (although not of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congregation. The denominational affiliations and kinship connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are depicted in Figure 10.

3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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13 Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

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available for purchase in the main town. In the first place, it would be far too expensive for most people to do so. And besides that, it is regarded as demeaning for a Tongan to have to buy vegetable produce, for it signifies that no one holds them in sufficient regard to supply them with food or to provide them with access to the means of obtaining it for themselves. If the members of a household do not have some means of access to the use of an agricultural allotment, or if for other reasons they are not able to farm (because of, for example, age, infirmity, or being too occupied with other activities, such as a job), they must either be supplied by relatives or have some other arrangement (short of buying their food in town). There were only two households in Motulahi with varying and uncertain arrangements for providing for the everyday material needs of household members, and, it should be noted, the adult members of these households were held in contempt by many of the villagers.

DETERMINANTS OF HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

When a family group does not have access to an allotment or to the subsistence foods that are the products of an allotment, it will inevitably join a family unit that does have such access, forming a multiple-family household. In 1970, there were 49 multiple-family households in Motulahi, or one-third of the households in the village. Most of the family units that comprised these households would not be economically viable as independent households. In some cases, a member of one of the family units provided the household with a steady cash income from a job. That person might not have access in his/her own right to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family unit in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family unit in the household may have control over an allotment, while the other family unit supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation, and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It may also be the basis of other types of household—for example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who

sharing the use of the *'api* of others or by using the *'api* of those who are away from the village. . . . Of the 19 households that share the use of the *'api* of others in the village under study, 10 share with related households and 9 share with unrelated ones. Of the 9 that share with unrelated households, 5 have no relatives in the village (1959:109).

Maude (1972:119-120) also discusses practices relating to the sharing of land. For a systematic account of which persons are likely to provide this form of assistance, see Decktor Korn (1974:10)

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could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family-unit household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

To be male or female head of a household of one's own carries with it recognition—one might almost say "attainment"—of adult status. Hence, for both the husband and the wife, being head of their own household, no matter how humble it might be, is more prestigious and infinitely preferable to being lesser members in someone else's household. Thus, 74% of the men in Motulahi aged 30 and older are the heads of their own households, and 78% of all the men in the village who are married and living together with their wives are heads of household (see Table 8). Those men who are not heads of households

TABLE 8

Household Status of Men in the Village, According to Age and Marital Situation

Household Status and Marital Situation	Age				Total
	Percentage 20-29 (N = 82)	Percentage 30-39 (N = 53)	Percentage 40-49 (N = 54)	Percentage 50+ (N = 44)	Percentage (N = 233)
Head of household					
Member of a married couple	16	49	85	73	50
Not a member of a married couple	1	4	–	11	3
Not head of household					
Member of a married couple	21	19	7	6	14
Not a member of a married couple	62	28	7	11	32
Total percentage	100	100	99	101	99

tend to be those who are not married and hence lack the human capital necessary for maintaining a household, and/or are those who have not managed to acquire an agricultural allotment of their own—a reflection of increasing shortage of land over the past two or three decades. The differences among men of different age groups are largely accounted for by these two factors.

TONGAN KIN GROUPS: THE NOBLE & THE COMMON VIEW

612 None of the *famili* in the village where I was based goes back more than six generations to a common ancestor of all the stem members, and this includes at least three living generations. Some of the *famili* consist only of the households of a group of brothers and sisters and their parents (if the old couple are alive and living in the village), a total of no more than four or five households. The largest *famili* in the village goes back five generations to a common ancestor, and includes 4 living generations and more than 20 households, but this *famili* is in process of segmenting, having previously split off a generation ago from another, now entirely separate, *famili* in the village.

It must be understood that membership in a localised sibling descent grouping and membership in a *famili* are not the same thing. An individual could be closely related consanguineally to more than one sibling descent group in his village, or he could be related to one such group and his spouse to another, but the members of any one household probably would 612 not be members of more than one *famili*. The reason is that membership 476 is dependent on frequent and consistent participation in *famili* activities. [43] This includes contributions of material goods and labour on a wide range [574] of feasting occasions—feasts for weddings and funerals, church feasts, welcoming feasts, and so on. Members of the *famili* are expected to make contributions and participate without being asked to do so. In return, they can expect the same kind of assistance when they give feasts or other big public displays. This is an important point of contrast between *famili* and *kainga*, for *kainga* may also function as a circumscriptive resource group. However, while *kainga* members are appropriate people to provide assistance, if they are not also members of one's own *famili* one must go to them and ask for assistance. Doing so puts one in a subordinate position, which is not the case in provision of assistance within the *famili*. Nevertheless, one goes to a member of the *kainga* for things that cannot [423] be provided within the *famili*. This applies particularly to the use of land for a short-term period to grow a cash crop like watermelon. Thus the *kainga* is a residual source of assistance, supplementing the *famili*. Besides [574] assistance, participation in the *famili* and the obligations of membership [431] involve continual informal interaction with other members and member-households: visiting, gossiping, working together in the fields or around the house, like doing laundry together, and sending small gifts of food back and forth. So long as a person continues to fulfil all these obligations, 612 he or she remains a member of the *famili*. From this description it should be clear that it is extremely burdensome materially, and might well be impossible socially, either to maintain these formal and informal obligations with more than one *famili* at a time or to have members of the same household involved in membership in different *famili*. Thus, people who [628] live in different villages will usually not be members of the same *famili*. If they are, it involves a lot of journeying back and forth and seldom occurs except in the case of neighbouring villages or if there is no *famili* within the village with which a household can affiliate itself.

The obverse of the point that an individual does not belong to more than one *famili* is that *famili* tend not to overlap in their active membership,

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

or 'kindness', as an essential motivation in all interactions. To describe someone as *ta'e 'ofa* ('without love') is to criticize his conduct severely. Thus, individuals in higher status positions whether in the class or kinship systems are obligated to act with *'ofa* toward individuals in lower status positions. However, this sort of generalized obligation permeating all relationships is distinct from the more specific definition of ranked relationships in terms of who has rights and who has obligations.

The channels of economic processes which define the Tongan family estate conform broadly to the following pattern based on the organization of rank in Tongan kin sets: Goods and services pass from younger brothers to older brothers, from brothers to sisters, whether married or not, from mother's brothers to sister's children, and from brother's children to father's sisters. Of course, in actual cases there is a great deal of variation in this pattern. The nature of economic activity and differing degrees to which individuals conform to traditional kinship norms (in turn related to the trade-off between personal ambition in the context of modernity and traditional patterns of rights and obligations as both burdens and advantages) account for much of the variation from the above directions of economic flows in family estates.

A question arises as to whether rights or obligations between ranked status positions in Tongan kinship are associated merely with the performance of ritual standards of behavior which confer honor or also with implied patterns of economic transaction and material support. If the latter is the case, as is argued here for the family estate, then rank among a particular set of kinsmen is a potent factor in the distributive aspect of economic activities. However, the answer to this question varies with the structural context of the analyst's attention. Certainly within the family estate, composed of dispersed kinsmen who have frequent, but little face-to-face contact and thus few opportunities to perform ritual behavior, rights and obligations associated with ranked relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the form and direction of economic transactions among them.

On the other hand, within villages, where interactions among kinsmen are daily and face-to-face, rights and obligations associated with ranked relationships are manifested chiefly in terms of the performance of particular standards of deference behavior rather than in terms of economic transactions. Of course, on the village level, there are important food transactions in consumption among ranked kinsmen, but the organization of economic activities in production and distribution and for mutual aid and support often does not follow the channels

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of ranked relationships among kinsmen. In the village, economic cooperation is as much a non-kinship as a kinship based matter, and usually, individual families of procreation are self-sufficient in productive activities on the land. This contrasts with the importance of traditional patterns of rank in the kin set as a determinant of the form of economic flows in the dispersed family estates.

The nature of economic activities among kinsmen is also an important determinant of the composition of the family estate. A common economic factor in most family estates is the holding of land: one or more *'api tukuhau* will be held or controlled by males in a particular sibling group. At least one brother, usually, but not always the eldest, will remain in residence in the kin set's native village tending the land which he will eventually inherit. Other brothers will disperse and look for employment. The importance of particular brothers and sisters in the family estate will depend on the type of employment that they find. Particularly important are siblings who have salaried employment either in Tonga or abroad. Also important are mother's relatives who have salaried jobs.

The following are the kinds of help or support that one might desire from a kinsman in his family estate: help in finding an undistributed *'api tukuhau*; financial support for educating oneself or one's child; periodic remittances of cash from money-earning to non-money-earning kinsmen; help in migrating within Tonga or emigrating from Tonga; provision of accommodations away from one's home for indefinite periods of time and for whatever reasons; the provision of modern goods in traditional settings where such goods are scarce (an important example is the replacement of houses built with Tongan materials by houses built with European materials, supplied by kinsmen abroad or near the capital); the provision of food to kinsmen involved in non-agricultural activities; taking care of children in the absence of parents; and support, financial or otherwise, in the case of emergencies or special occasions. The mutual fulfillment of the above needs and desires among kinsmen is the nature of the content of the relationships among dispersed kinsmen in a family estate. These activities, which are of considerable importance to the economic and social development of particular individuals in a modernizing context, are channelled in terms of the hierarchically organized kinship system.

Varying configurations in the compositions and contents of specific family estates, then, are largely determined by a combination of kinship factors, derived from traditional norms of ranking, and economic factors,

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
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621 traditional system, may be brought closer to the legal definition of their
565 limited powers.

[612] On the other hand, aside from their positions in the traditional class system, the Tu'i and nobles also control the positions of power in the modern political structure. Consequently, even though some villagers no longer hold values which support the authority of the nobles in the traditional class structure, they must nevertheless recognize the power of the nobles as a class (as opposed to *their* particular nobles) in the modern political system. However, in the case of 'Uiha, the present importance of the noble for the villagers can be attributed predominantly to his place in the traditional system rather than in the modern state. Depending on the development of commoners in family estates throughout Tonga, the locus (traditional or modern systems) of the noble's importance for them is bound to change.

Commoner-Commoner Relations

621 Just as the individual in Tonga can be analyzed both in terms of his family estate and *fonua* identifications, so the village community as a unit of analysis can be seen both as the co-residence of a number of segments of family estates and as a population unified by a local folk
621 tradition and the general egalitarian ideology already described. Although
612 it is easy for the analyst to observe the ritual aspects of behavior in
571 interactions between commoners who recognize mutual *kāinga* member-
476 ship both within and between domestic groups, it is much more difficult to attribute specific instances in which material aid and support are exchanged to the existence of kin ties between two exchanging individuals or domestic groups. That is, for any ego, one can observe patterns of ritual behavior reflecting the organization of rank in the Tongan *kāinga:* a male ego, for example, will demand respect behavior from his mother's brothers and their children and will be deferential to his father's sisters and their children and to his sisters. However, the application of such standards of behavior to ranked statuses within a recognized *kāinga* is not paralleled by recognition of material rights or obligations to occupants of particular *kāinga* statuses outside the domestic group, as opposed to others to whom one is related only through the idiom of the kinship ideology of the *fonua* (these others are *effectively* non-kinsmen in contrast to one's recognized *kāinga).*

621 I could not establish exclusive channels of exchange consistent with
476 the organization of rank in the Tongan kinship system among members of a village as I could among members of a dispersed family estate.

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Regular exchanges of food after Sunday religious services occurred among domestic groups both related (in terms of recognized *kāinga* membership) and unrelated. One is as much obligated to help a friend or neighbor asking for assistance as a recognized kinsman.

Thus, concern with status differentiation, entailing either rights or obligations, does not appear to underlie exchanges among members of a *fonua*, since as putative kinsmen of the *kāinga fakafonua*, everyone is obligated to help and can request support from everyone else. The only exception to this was the occasional assertion of an *'ilamutu* ('sister's child') of his/her right to the services and property of his/her *fā'e tangata* ('mother's brother'). However, in this case of the exercise of particular rights associated with the occupation of a culturally defined kin status, the economic consequences are trivial. The problem of attributing observed contents of interactions and exchanges to specific kinship norms or not is a complex and theoretically important question, long ago recognized by Firth (Firth, 1936, pp. 104-117). In 'Uiha, at least, rights and obligations in economic transactions of aid and support among domestic groups are related more to the egalitarian norms of kinship amity than to the hierarchical norms of the kinship system, the latter reflected mainly in the performance of particular appropriate standards of behavior toward ranked *kāinga* members.

There are important factors which do account for cooperation or the lack of it between domestic groups, or between individuals from different households. Obviously, in different contexts, villagers will alternately try to evade, initiate, or fulfill requests for support; the covering ideology of kinship amity and communitas is in no way a binding influence to which villagers uniformly adhere. To discuss these factors, it is necessary to refer to the alternative analytical perspective which views the Tongan village as a collection of segments of dispersed family estates.

In Tongan villages, individual domestic groups or households are discrete and self-sufficient units of economic activity on the land. Major flows of goods and services as assistance outside the domestic group or household occur among the dispersed kin set or family estate of which the village domestic group is a member or segment. The manner in which a domestic group responds to requests for support from neighboring households or initiates requests for support, in terms of the general kinship ideology of the *fonua*, depends significantly on such factors as (1) the economic position of a domestic group in its family estate (whether the members of households are primarily donors or

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476 621 [554] [612] recipients in the transactions among ranked kinsmen of the family estate) and (2) the degree of dispersion of segments of family estates outside the native village (whether a domestic group is the only segment in its family estate resident in a village or whether the component domestic groups of a family estate are relatively undispersed and concentrated in a particular community).

Although the kinds of mutual requests that villagers make are diverse, the most common requests in 'Uiha were for permission to use a section of an *'api tukuhau* for the planting of subsistence crops such as yams and taro, to borrow a dryer to process copra, to use a cart or boat to transport copra, or to procure cash and food for one's obligatory offerings to *kāinga* members, family estate members, the noble, or the government. Major economic cooperation and sharing of land occur among segments of family estates resident in the same village. Such co-resident family estate segments also constitute the dominant, identifiable commoner factions in the village.

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In contrast to these family estate factions of a village, there are numerous domestic groups, often headed by the eldest brother in a family estate, which are essentially caretakers of land held by their respective dispersed estates. Cooperation in economic activity and the formation of identifiable factions are weakly developed among caretaker domestic groups. Their interests lie outside the native village, in the activities of their dispersed kin sets.

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A family estate with concentrated segments composed the dominant faction in 'Uiha and the visibly most prosperous commoners in the village. Several caretaker informants grumbled because they had to stay on the land while members of their dispersed kin sets were bettering their economic positions elsewhere. Other caretaker informants, who benefited as recipients of gifts and support from their dispersed kinsmen, seemed relatively content with their positions as landholders in their native village. It appears that the strength of their positions in their respective family estates was a compensation for their relative lack of influence and power within their native village.

An adequate description of social relations among commoners in Tongan villages, then, must integrate a prevailing egalitarian ethic, based on *fonua* identification, with the observed economic variation among members of a homogeneous social class, based significantly on factors relating to family estate identification. In this analysis, the influence of culturally defined concepts of rank, important in interclass relations and within the kinship system, has little direct significance

621 571 577 565 612 [554]

241 planted is usually of less importance than the first and so on until the land is returned to fallow status. A typical garden sequence is yam ('ufi), perhaps two crops in succession of taro (talo), and then cassava (manioke) is planted until the plot is exhausted. The amount of care given a garden is an indication not only of the amount of care a certain crop might need, but also indicates the social value derivable from that crop. Thus yams receive more care than taro, and so on.

[412] All gardening done in Puke is accomplished with the use of three hand tools: the ubiquitous bush knife, the push hoe, and a long-handled spade. Fallow periods plus whatever nutrients the soil might receive from burning the brush before a first planting are the only aids utilized to refurbish the soil. Commercial fertilizers provided free by [654] the Agricultural Board are, however, now being used on palms. Ususally no effort is made to prevent wandering animals from a garden and pigs sometimes do extensive damage.

[731] In some years droughts threaten crops in the dry, cool months from [732] May to November, but irrigation is not practiced and is not practical [312] because of limited sources of water.

241 Most garden work is accomplished by men but wives often assist,
461 particularly in weeding. A Tongan anecdote proclaims that if a man takes his wife to the garden and has her work so that his work will take him toward her, he will be able to work much faster; but the situations both explicit and implicit in their theory are more fiction than real.

[476] Men usually do choose to work together with at least one other man, and work groups of two to four are quite common. Sociability is important

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476 in such groups and work progresses with a great deal of conversation and joking; frequent breaks for drinking coconuts and smoking are also important as is a midday break for eating and sleeping.

During 1971 seventeen of the adult men in Puke belonged to work groups called kautaha toungāue 'association that works in rotation'. There were two such groups, one having a membership of ten and the other a membership of seven. Each group had a timekeeper but no other leader. The tasks undertaken by the groups were planting and hoeing for each member in the following manner. Each day on which the kautaha was to work, each member had one hour in the morning to work on his own garden plot; the remainder of the day the entire membership worked on the land of one member. The order of rotation was established by the criterion of the proximity of each garden to the village, group work beginning in the closest garden and ending at the most distant.

The basis of membership in these groups seems to be residence and friendship, as all members of one group reside in the northern half of the village and the members of the other group all reside in the southern half.

423 All household heads in Puke have access to land through one of the
426 following: (1) legal usufruct rights based on registration with the
427 government, (2) usufruct rights granted by the noble holding the estate, or (3) usufruct rights "loaned" by a person holding land by one of the other two methods. In the village thirteen men hold land as legal registrants, fourteen hold land at the discretion of a noble, and fifteen use land of a kinsman or friend.

563 162 Table 8. Ethnic components of Tonga and Tongatapu (1966 only) population; and the relative increase.

	1939	1956	1966		Tonga
	Tonga	Tonga	Tongatapu	Tonga	1939-1966
	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	Pop.	% increase
Tongans	32,862	55,156	46,818	76,121	+132
Europeans	400	277	364	402	+ 1
Part-Europeans	441	604	423	512	+ 16
All Others	427	801	315	394	- 8
TOTAL	34,130	56,838	47,920	77,429	-

Sources: Toupouniua, 1958:42; Fiefia, 1968:37-42.

571 602 183 social and kinship relationships and institutionalized procedures, which, if not fulfilled or adhered to, in the strictest Tongan sense, can result in loss of prestige, favor, or effectiveness within one's social or economic sphere. By fulfilling one's social obligations, or as Tongans say, by being faka-Tonga (of Tongan nature), an individual keeps on good terms with his family, his village, his pastor, the traditional ruling class, and the rest of the community group. Consequently when he needs assistance in the form of labor, money, food for ceremonial occasions, or even land, if he has been faka-Tonga, other parties will be willing to fulfill their obligations to him. These social relationships are particularly important in Tonga,

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571 602 476 where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

571 602 [434] [182] Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the [43] [437] society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the 128 predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

601 612 **Kinship Ties**

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

602 612 178 [592] [554] [177] tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater importance than the kainga with respect to land tenure and economic activity. Weakening of the kainga has also been brought about by European contact and increased focus on individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 437 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for the redistribution of products from the agricultural system within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

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602 437 554

Social Ties

571 554 Ties which help define the role of the individual within the broader context of Tongan society include some pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and other more contemporary ties related to the church, the government, and the village.

565 554 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (eiki,

443 The sale of Tongan handicrafts is also a major source
438 of domestic cash income. Handicrafts, which include items
such as tapa cloth, pandanus mats, pandanus and coconut
443 leaf baskets, seed necklaces, flower leis, and wood carvings
438 are sold through a Tongan woman's co-operative marketing
439 organization, the Langa Fonua, at Talamahu Market and other
441 locations in Nuku'alofa, in special stalls set up on the
485 government commons on days when passenger liners are in
port and select locations near points of interest to sight-
443 seers throughout Tongatapu. Although some handicrafts are
438 exported to Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, American Samoa
439 and the United States, more are sold locally.

Labor Organization

241 Out of 126 sample households with bush allotments,
461 there were 198 males whose primary occupation was working
on these allotments. The average work per week was 23 hours
241 per man and 36 hours per household. Although these men
476 mostly worked as individuals or with family members in small
[46] groups, the figures also include the hours of work in
organized communal groups or as wage laborers on agri-
cultural allotments. For tasks such as clearing bush,
planting crops, harvesting, making tapa, or building houses,
many Tongans prefer to work in communal groups rather than
as individuals or households.

[62] The most common working group is known as the kautaha

241 or kautaha toungaue, generally based on village residence or
476 in some cases on church or family ties. Of 126 households
[621] sampled on Tongatapu, 33 heads of household belonged to
241 kautaha toungaue. All of these 33 households were in
476 villages outside Nuku'alofa. Of 31 households in Nuku'alofa
369 no head of household belonged to a kautaha. This probably
[621] reflects urban breakdown of "village solidarity" which
241 provides the main basis for membership in these groups. The
476 number of members ranged from 2 to 15 with the median being
241 7 members. The average number of days worked per week was
476 4.9. Some kautaha's work only during the yam harvesting
461 planting and cultivating seasons from January to September,
but most work throughout the year.

241 The kautaha works on the allotments of its members in
476 rotation. If a member misses a working day, the kautaha
[686] either charges him the going rate of 20 cents per hour for
the time he has missed, skips his allotment during that
241 rotation cycle, or in some cases does not penalize him. The
476 number of allotments worked on per day ranges from one to
461 four with a median of two. The number of hours worked on
each allotment ranges from one to eight with an average of
3.6. The total hours per day worked by a kautaha averages
241 8.1 with a median of 6. The major tasks performed by the
476 kautaha toungaue include clearing bush, burning, planting,
weeding, and harvesting.

[425] Another temporary communal work group is the toutu'u

241 'ufi, which is generally formed for the purposes of
476 planting yams and other staple root crops on a plot of land
[425] donated by or rented from the holder. Whereas the village
[621] tends to be the primary basis for membership to the kautaha
[794] toungaue, the church is of almost equal importance in the case of the toutu'u 'ufi. Certain procedures are generally followed by the toutu'u 'ufi. Each member is allotted a predetermined number of rows of yams, using planting material that he supplies individually. The work, which includes tasks such as clearing the land, planting, weeding, and harvesting, is all done as a group. After the yams are harvested, taro and paper mulberry are commonly planted, with manioc, bananas, or giant taro being planted occasionally. In only two cases out of 48 sample toutu'u 'ufi was the land fallowed after the yam harvest. A common occurence after the yam harvest is the cultivation of paper mulberry by communal women's groups (toutu'u hiapo) for use in making tapa cloth. Out of 142 households, 34 percent participated in toutu'u 'ufi in 1970-71, whereas 51 percent had partici-
[369] pated in toutu'u 'ufi in the past five years. There was little difference between town and bush areas, with 29 percent and 36 percent of the heads of households, respectively, having participated in toutu'u 'ufi. Membership in a given toutu'u 'ufi ranged from 2 to 40 with a median of 7 members.

A limited number of households, 13 out of 138, also

241 indicated membership in other planting organizations, most
476 of which required members to plant bananas, yams, and other crops on their own land, in accordance with a pre-determined quota. To insure that the crops are planted and well-maintained the members periodically inspected each member's allotment.

Another form of kautaha is the kautaha le'o vao; its main purpose is to patrol bush allotments to prevent theft of agricultural products, especially coconuts for making
[184] copra. These groups seem to be much more prevalent in the
[464] Ha'apai group and only four households of the Tongatapu sample of 138 households indicated membership, while 9 indicated that they paid kautaha to patrol their allotments.
[465] The payment is generally a small amount of cash or mature
241 coconuts. In most cases, the villagers on Tongatapu seem to be content to look after their crops themselves.

241 There are also many households who pay independent
464 kautaha ngaue to work on their allotments. These paid kautaha serve a similar function to the kautahe toungaue and are often hired when large amounts of labor are needed. Of 140 sample households, 33 percent had paid others to work on their land during 1971.

476 Women's communal work groups are also common and
287 include the koka'anga, the toulanganga, and the toulalanga. The koka'anga and the toulanganga both function in the preparation of tapa cloth. The koka'anga is performed when

476 287 one person has accumulated sufficient pounded paper mulberry bark (feta'aki) to make a large piece of tapa (ngatu) (generally about fifty feet by twenty feet). An informal group of women averaging about 12 in number will meet and conduct the koka'anga to paste the individual pieces of feta'aki together, dye the tapa with vegetable dyes, and paint the desired patterns on the ngatu. Out of 24 households sampled, 75 percent participated in koka'anga during 1970-71 on an average 3 times per year.

The toulanganga is a group of women who each bring feta'aki to one member's house, make a ngatu and give it to that person. Each time, the toulanganga meets at a different member's house or at least makes the ngatu for a different member of the group. Out of 19 households, 53 percent participated in toulanganga on an average of 10 times per year, the average membership being 12 women.

476 285 The toulalanga is a similar group organized to weave pandanus mats (fala) or coconuts mats(takapau). Out of 21 households, only 14 percent participated in toulalanga during 1970-71. Most women weave at home on their own, whereas others ask friends to help them on an informal basis to complete mats.

476 There are also a number of other informal working groups organized to build houses, collect vegetable dyes for tapa making, pound mulberry bark, dig wells, help at the village school, or perform other miscellaneous tasks. In

476 most cases, these tasks are performed in the spirit of community service with the beneficiary of the work generally supplying food and drink to the workers.

241

Technology

Tongan agricultural technology relies primarily on human labor with no plow animals and only limited mechanization. 241 412 The average Tongan gardener still uses simple hand tools that replaced the traditional digging stick over a century ago. As early as the 1850's, it was mentioned that in the preparation of soil for yams "the earth is completely dug out of these pits, by aid of small iron huos or narrow lance-shaped spades, attached to a long wooden handle..." (West, 1865:136). The major tools that are used by Tongans today include: cane knives or machetes (hele pelu), owned by 99 percent of 141 sample households; sharpened digging spades with heavy wooden or pipe handles (huo keli), owned by 88 percent of all sample households; flattened spades with broad hoe-like heads (huo lafalafa) used for weeding and clearing grass, owned by over 94 percent of the sample households; axes (toki palangi), owned by 74 percent of the sample households; steel digging forks (huo langa), owned by 61 percent of the sample households; small coconut knives (hele hihi niu), used to pry coconut kernel from the shell, owned by 43 percent of the sample households; garden rakes (leiki) owned by 15 percent of the sample households; and

/24 cont./

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[133]

29. Even the fertile island of 'Eua which is the only Tongan island with running water and lies close to Tongatapu has had an astonishingly sparse population until recent times. In part the reason is said to be the often difficult crossing between Tongatapu and 'Eua because of the frequent strong surf, people shrink from such discomforts.

[484]

Gregariousness was (30)

30. For example, Cook, loc, cit p. 289.

and still is a further outstanding trait of the Tongan. The natives
181 of both sexes prefer working together whenever they can arrange it.
476 In every village there are cooperative pools (kautaha) in which the
461 women plait mats and make lengths of tapa and in which the men
571 carry out larger plantation work. In addition they unite in single undertakings of various kinds (for example, fishing, house building), and most men form evening kawa gatherings in the village where they discuss the day's happenings, plans for the future and events of the past, sometimes until daybreak.--In sociability the Tongan comes to life, and amid talk, fun and laughter the work progresses better.
181 In the course of European influence and cultural change this gregarious
178 impulse has been considerably furthered by the fact that individual
177 settlements united into villages, (31)
361

31. The village settlement in Tonga and with it the separation of place of residence and plantation goes back to the civil wars and the influence of missions. See chapter on settlement and community, p. 134 ff.

new ties in church groups arose, and the dependence of the masses on their chiefs greatly diminished.

181 The old controversy as to whether the Tongan should be called
461 lazy or industrious can be answered, on the basis of present findings, by saying that he is neither lazy nor industrious by Central European standards. On these relatively fertile islands that have no drastic

/94 cont./

621 of their common life in the villages. In some respects the village
[189 community seems to be one large family. True, every household has
[592] its own separate dwelling in the village. But the household is by
621 no means isolated in the community. For example, if a villager of the
425 small islands needs any sort of object, be it a particular mat of a chicken or even a pig or a horse, he will ask a fellow-villager for it and will receive it without a direct service in return. This is the old system of "reciprocal insurance," for tomorrow the giver may be a
[576] suppliant. It is a rule of courtesy to grant the suppliant his wish, just as it is an unwritten law never to take unfair advantage of this
421 mutual aid. The concept of property and right of ownership is far
425 less developed than in Europe. Perhaps the chief's power of disposal
[565] over the property of commoners in ancient Tonga is one reason for this;
[178] another reason may be the common production (that is, with the coopera-
[496] tion of several villagers) of essential things such as houses, boats,
[177] tapa and mats. It is at any rate interesting that European influences
[436] were never capable of eradicating this ancient custom of natural material assistance, through the introduction of money. On the small
621 islands very few natives sell their products to their fellow-villagers,
432 and they are not exactly highly respected for doing so. On Tongatapu
554 and Vava'u the influx of money is, of course, greater, especially in
177 the seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. But even in these small cities
436 every inhabitant can at least go to every other for a meal if he does
632 not happen to have prepared one for himself.
[571]

186 In these towns, as on the small islands, the feeling of solidarity
621 unites the natives even beyond the divisive influence of the denomina-
795 tions. It often happens, for example, that Protestants and members of
794 other churches give money for the collections of the Catholic congregations and vice versa.

476 /95/ Even "reciprocal insurance" also applies to work assistance,

795 cont./

476 for a person may ask one or more fellow-villagers (aside from relatives) to help with difficult undertakings on the plantations, in house building or boat building. In general, everyone complies with such a request, and the work is not paid, but usually acknowledged only with [621] a good earth-oven meal. Here too community feeling is stronger [177] than European influences. Thus, in December 1951 on Nomuka, many 476 Tongans of the "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga" /cited in English/ 571 helped their fellow villagers of the "apostate" "Church of Tonga" to 794 make cement tiles for a new church building; even the pastor of the 795 Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga took part in this work, and the brass 533 bands of his church provided music for the construction work of the "apostates."

186 The far-flung kinship of the villagers among each other on many 181 islands is an important, though by no means the sole, cause of this solidarity. It is rooted above all in the particular Tongan character [178] traits of good nature and gregariousness, and is strengthened and 443 cultivated by tradition. Even the Tongan traders with their small 181 shops which, as a result of their European-like way of doing business, 178 could be a foreign body in the community, sometimes yield to old [497] customs. Thus it often happened on Nomuka, for instance, that a merchant who had run out of certain articles asked his competitor for them and successfully sold them.

476 The more casual joining together of several villagers in a work project for one of them often takes on a more permanent form by becoming a sort of cooperative organization for mutual aid. For instance, five men may agree to found such a work group, a kautaha, in order to cultivate their plantations. On the first day, all five will work for number one on his land, then for number two, and so on. During this rotation no further member is taken on; however, for the next round they are often willing to increase the number of participants.

/95 cont./

476 [465] It may also happen that such a kautaha will hire themselves out for money to another villager by building him a house for a wage of, say, 30 pounds.

Such men's kautaha are found in most villages. Often they exist for a certain time only, for example a year, and the members then separate and look for other temporary or more permanent combinations. Much more significant in village life are the women's kautaha. Their sole purpose is to make, in a cooperative endeavor, long lengths of tapa and large mats for individual members who furnish the raw material (raw tapa or cleaned /96/ strips of pandanus leaves). For example, seven women will work five days a week (on Saturday they prepare for Sunday) and on each day will plait one mat, so that in the end five women will receive their portion of the work and the next week the other two will be supplied. Usually a capable older and more experienced man is "president" of such a kautaha; he is elected by the group for one year and may be reelected. In every Tongan village there is at least one such women's kautaha, and almost all villages have special kautaha houses for the aforementioned types of work. (270)

476 287 285 [461] 476 [368]

[592] 270. A count in the 100 households of the village of 'Uiha (in April 1952) showed, for example, that at the time, in each of 59 households there was one female (wife, daughter, resident relative) who was a member of a women's kautaha, whereas in eight households there were two each, and in one household three females belonged to a kautaha. In 32 households no one was a member of a women's kautaha.

These kautaha are far more long-lasting than those of the men. Thus on Nomuka the four women's kautaha, the largest of which has 18, and the smallest six co-workers, were set up in the years 1922, 1942, 1945 and 1948. Based on the type of work-they accept only a specific number of members. If a member dies, usually her daughter or a relative

/96 cont./

476 takes her place (as the family decides).

476 178 It is difficult to say whether these kautaha are ancient Tongan institutions. Since government officials usually recommend that the women, for example, make a certain number of mats within a given time, and the festive exhibitions of the kautaha have a certain official character through the presence of the "town officer" /cited in English/, the pastor and the kautaha president (all judges of the exhibited pieces), and since the election of the president strikes one as very European in character, we must assume that this form of the kautaha originated in the more recent period. On the other hand, it seems (285) (287) improbably that formerly the very sociable Tongan women made the large mats and tapa lengths by themselves in their family circle. Surely there were similar work teams in ancient Tonga, which in more recent times then took on the character of the present-day kautaha.

476 529 594 The festivals of the women's kautaha on an island like Nomuka have an important place among the few festivities that are observed in the present village community. It is a festive show of accomplishment which may proceed as follows:

The day before the festival a long roofing (of sticks and coconut palm fronds) is erected for the participants on a place in the village. On the morning of the festival several earth-ovens are prepared by the husbands of the various members, with the help of the women and their relatives. The festival (often called a "show" (533) /cited in English/) starts around noon. If there is a brass band in the village it strikes up /97/ and the invited guests of both sexes (that is to say, a large part of the village population) take their (431) seats in no particular order. The tapa pieces that have been brought along as gifts for the hosts are, for the time being, used as seat pads and are later (before the banquet) gathered up by the hosts. The show begins. The women of the kautaha (older as well as younger ones)

/97 cont./

476 527 574 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village kautaha). (533) The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat a large bass drum. (535) The women of the kautaha, young as well as old, are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271)

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the guests. Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef, (262) /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from (1777) the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware (272) plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for always following the orders of their president and for preparing the entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

/97 cont./

476 527 574 (554) guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 527 574 178 182 621 (626) Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha, they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at the same time give large circles of the village community the much desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha (203) invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations), so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/ one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the festival.

527 574 794 Other festivities (272)

272. Aside from the various "picnics" /cited in English/ on the beach or in the bush, organized by young men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus, every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a (262) meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig, (272) yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

/102 cont./

000 of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

621 178 Seen as a whole, the old, strong feeling of solidarity in the Tongan community has been preserved. Even today we see, especially in the villages of the small islands, the old mutuality which is neither communist nor is it made up of families isolated from each other. Every Tongan can still join any group in the village having a meal and can eat with them, and in most of the settlements every inhabitant may ask any other for objects or for personal help, and no one will generally refuse to fulfill his wish. European influences (such as money, the idea of property, different denominations) have up to now--except in special cases--not led to the individualization of families, which to us in Europe is so much taken for granted.

/103/ b) Social Stratification

565 The principal social classes in ancient Tonga were: the chiefs ('eiki), their personal attendants, counselors and helpers (matapule) and the commoners (tu'a).

The commoners, that is, the mass of the people, were in most cases farmers who cultivated the chief's lands which they lent out to them. Every tu'a along with his family was completely dependent on his chief. The 'eiki (whose title was hereditary) had absolute power, often arbitrarily exercized over the life and property of the commoners. (286)

286. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. pp. 294/295; W. Ellis, An authentic narrative... /cited in English/ p. 115; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 59/60; II. pp. 92, 300; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 110.

565 554 The matapule served the chiefs as a sort of minister. As a rule, the title of the matapule was handed down in the same family; a matapule served the chief with whose ancestor his own ancestor had lived. The rank of the matapule depended specifically on that of his

/141 cont./

342 For a long time the "district officer" /cited in English/
177 living on Nomuka has wanted to move out of the house of his parents-
178 in-law and build his own house on a property he owns in the village.
463 He talks over his plan with Vilingia, the (approximately 45-year-old)
331 house-building specialist on Nomuka, who has been trained in Fiji as a carpenter. They decide to build a house with ancient Tongan ground plan but with "improved beaming," wooden walls with a cement base, windows and doors and a corrugated sheet metal roof. Vilingia draws a construction plan in an exercise book. The district officer (439) buys four metal drums of cement, Canadian building timber, corrugated sheet metal and nails, flour, fat and sugar in Nuku'alofa and has the supplies brought to Nomuka in cutters. Six men from Nomuka sail to (484) the uninhabited island of Tonumea, a half-day's journey distant, there (313) chop down 12 breadfruit trees, cut them up as beams and take them (283) home. Coconut-fiber cord is also made in sufficient quantities. After all the material has lain ready for several weeks, the district officer decides to start the building. Shortly before the date fixed, (251) a group of natives sail to the neighboring island of Nomuka Iki, there shoot one of the half-wild cows of the "boss," cut it up properly and, in Nomuka, salt down the meat in wooden tubs, under the supervision of an aged Tongan.

342 On the day the building is to commence, some 20 men from the
476 village (young and old in approximately the same number) assemble early
313 in the morning at the previous dwelling of the "boss," and, after a
331 breakfast of fried cakes /cited in English/ (Tonga: keke) and orange-leaf tea, they repair to the plantations, led by the carpenter Vilingia, where, because of the exalted position of the "boss," they take the liberty of selecting and cutting down the coconut palms needed for the rafters, without asking permission from their respective

331 /141 cont./
342 owners. The palms chopped down with the big axe (toki lahi) (see
476 above) are cut up with the same axe into nine-foot (or eleven-foot)
(313) lengths and, for further preparation, are placed on two smaller
342 (properly notched) logs. The "jacked-up" logs are then provided with
476 longitudinal grooves by two Tongans standing opposite each other
335 who, with the big transverse hatchet (fale-vatu lahi) (see above),
412 strike blow after blow, each /worker/ forming a longitudinal groove;
331 /142/ the two longitudinal grooves meet as they are struck, so that the second of the two workers can, with his blows, simultaneously tear the bark and wood out of the resulting fissure and thus lay it open. After turning the log slightly on its supports, another Tongan, /applying/ blow after blow with the big axe, slits the resulting work-piece (the rafter-to-be) on one side. After a further turning, the two men start cutting another lengthwise groove with the transverse hatchet. The process is repeated successively until 10,12 or 15 rafters (kahoki), depending on the circumference of the trunk, are marked off all around the log. Then the kahoki (which already have a preliminary slit on one side) are separated from the log with the big axe and a pointed club (crowbar). With a machete the rough chips are removed and the rafters are loaded on two-wheel, horse-drawn carts and taken to the building site in the village.

331 There are no reports about how rafters were made in ancient Tonga.
342 However, it is to be assumed that today's work which seems so primi-
335 tive to us was carried out in the same way in those days, and that
178 there is a change only with respect to the axes, the iron blades of
179 the transverse hatchets and the measurements with English foot rules.

342 The groups of natives, each working on the felled coconut palms
335 (young and old separately, but also individual older men among the
476 young ones), busily engaged, though soon stopping for rather long
461
331

331 /142 cont./
342 rest periods, make 110 rafters by early afternoon. Then they go back
335 to the building site and around 16 o'clock they each have an earth-
476 oven meal, prepared in the meantime by their wives and other women,
[461] from the supplies of the "boss"; each man is served a portion (yams,
[264] manioc, kape, bananas, pork, beef) in a traditional coconut-leaf
[262] basket and with it a coconut mug containing fish soup. Thereafter the
[415] work in the village is resumed: five Tongans sitting crosslegged
[516] "plane" the rafters by striking them with the small transverse hatchets
(fale-vatu si'i, toki taha-taha, toki tele) or with the machete, two
natives cut more rafters out of trunks which are brought from the
plantations, and 12 Tongans hold a kava gathering at the site to
"sanction" the building project, while three women prepare the
[264] evening meal. This is eaten when twilight sets in (around 18:30):
[262] everyone present gets three or four fried cakes and highly sweetened
orange-leaf tea in coconut bowls. Around 19 o'clock everybody goes
home.

342 On the second building day, while several younger natives split
313 off and plane more rafters and a kava circle of elders is gathered on
335 the building site, six Tongans and the carpenter go to the plantations
331 (after the fried-cake and orange-leaf-tea breakfast) to get sections
of curved beams (for the narrow sides of the new building). According
to an apparently very old system, these are cut out of coconut palm
342 trunks that have grown with a special curvature. Again the men work
335 with the big axe and the big transverse hatchet. From each palm a
331 curved section of beam is obtained. Around 13 o'clock- after they
[264] have cut up the seventh palm, they grow listless, build a fire, roast
a few green bananas in it, have a snack and then go back to the
village, leaving the remaining five palms of the day's quota for the
342 following day. Around 14:30, /143/ 'ota 'i mango (a refreshing drink
272 of grated green mangoes, grated coconut meat, water and sugar) is
264

/152 cont./

241 461 [512] [517] are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch, but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand, have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost all available time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations [476] by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241 461 198 [417] Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a considerable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed" (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires. 241 178 461 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan love of order; some of the /153/ plots, with the exception of a few "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

/171 cont./

231 without bothering about them, so that some cattle were near /172/
death from thirst or actually died. On Nomuka there is a group
[476] (kautaha) of Tongans who jointly own a herd of some 20 cattle that
are left on the usually unoccupied neighboring island of Nomuka Iki
and live there half-wild without any particular care; if the men
want to slaughter one of these animals they usually shoot it.

Goat:

In goats, too, which were brought to the Archipelago, the Tongans so far have not shown much more interest. The natives who own such animals tether them on their property or tie them to a tree on their
[262] plantations, so that they can find their own food. Only the meat of
goats is used.

Duck:

231 A few natives on some of the islands keep ducks, which have also
235 been introduced in Tonga by Europeans. Aside from the slight
[136] interest of the Tongans for these animals in general, it is the lack
of running and still fresh water which very much prevents a widespread
occurrence of ducks in the Archipelago.

Dog:

231 The number of Tongans who regard a dog as their property and give
it food is small. Nevertheless, there are dogs in all villages, the
majority of which are very skinny, neglected mixtures of various
breeds. They usually have to seek their own food, and they suffer,
especially in times of drought. The villagers, most of whom treat
their dogs brutally, nevertheless like to use them to keep watch over
[262] straying pigs. Seldom are better fed dogs slaughtered to be eaten
(as they were even a century and a half ago). (465)

456. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 265.

/175 cont./

226 together they form a closed circle around the fish. (Vava'u)

kupenga fakamamaha:

The net which is approximately 110 meters long is spread out at flood tide in such a way that--suspended and anchored in the water--it closes off an inlet along the shore or forms a semicircle to a beach. At beginning ebb tide the fish then enter the net along with the receding water. With this method the natives sometimes made do with the kupenga leleaki.

kupenga toho:

This is the longest of the nets used (approximately 300 to 350 meters long). In boats the natives take the kupenga toho out to sea, leaving one end on land and slowly unwinding it; then, describing a semicircle, they return to shore. Men standing in readiness on the beach then pull the net onto the shore to recover the fish caught. A few natives acting as divers watch the entire process and, when necessary, free the kuenga toho, which, easily gets caught on the rocks of the sea bottom.

kupenga fonu:

225 This net, used to catch turtles, varies in size, averaging probably 35 to 70 meters in length with the width of its meshes about 30 centimeters. In places where the natives expect to find turtles they apread out the kupenga fonu in the passageway of a coral reef, or they anchor it with stones or iron weights at right angles to the presumable path of the turtles which are said to swim with the wind (or with the current). After a few days or a week they investigate to see whether an animal has been caught.

uloa:

226 476 is a large community fishing expedition which is undertaken only occasionally (especially in summer). On a rope some 500 or 1,000

476 /175 cont./ On a rope some 500 or 1,000
226 (even 2,000) meters long the natives fasten coconut palm leaves so
[824] that they project. While one end of this rope remains on the beach (or reef), two or three rather large boats (cutters) take the remaining part and ride out to sea with it and then come back to the shore, thus spreading it out in a large semicircle that extends into the ocean. Some 50 or 80 persons take part in the entire undertaking. They then pull the rope back to shore, that is to say, they make the semicircle smaller. Young natives dive, in order to free the rope that might be caught on the rocks at sea bottom. As soon as the semicircle has become small enough, the net is doubled and finally tripled. Since the coconut leaves move in the water while the work on the rope is going on, the trapped fish are afraid to escape through the leaves. They are crowded together more and more and then driven into a large and heavy funnel-shaped net (tuki) plaited of coconut fibers, secured with sticks and /176/ weighted with stones. Several hundred, indeed as many as 1000 fish (the length of an arm
[225] or a hand) can be caught in such a haul. There may even be turtles and sharks (which are immediately speared) among the booty. In the fishing methods described thus far the fisherman uses up his catch alone with his family, and sometimes gives a portion to neighbors or other villagers, whereas the distribution of an uloa catch is a special event: the headman of the village, the pastor, possibly Europeans of the vicinity, all those who took part in the work, and, in case of a very large haul, the entire village are given their share.

226 talaki:

This is a small net, approximately one or one and a half meters long. It is fastened to two sticks and has several weights. With
[462] this hand net, held by the ends of the sticks, women fish, particularly

/177 cont./

226 a few hours (or at the next ebb tide) the catch is taken in.

Fishing with a Weir:

pa:

In shallow water the natives erect weirs made of posts and wire netting, in specific directions, so that the fish are induced to swim through the entrance posts into the marked-off corners; they can only swim in, but cannot get out again (used especially in Tongatapu).

pola:

276 476 [824] In this method of fishing, which is a large community undertaking, very many people take part. On a sand bank on the shore, at ebb tide, a large chain of plaited halves of coconut palm leaves (pola) is laid out in a semicircle (with its opening toward the shore) and is partly buried. At flood tide the people approach the enclosed area from the outside, erect the "weir" of coconut palm leaves and prop it up with clubs. Hundreds of people, indeed more than a thousand, of both sexes and all ages then wait on the outside of the weir until the water recedes, to make sure that no fish excape. When ebb tide has commenced all the natives, at a given signal, enter the enclosure where there are great numbers of fish in the shallow water and in pools. They are caught and killed (usually with spears).

226 /178/ Fishing with Poison:

'aukava:

[824] The bark (or fruit) of the futu tree (Barringtonia species) is pounded between stones, or the bark of the kava shrub is grated, a bag (kaka 'i niu [see page 58] or cotton) is filled with the meal, the bag is wrung out at ebb tide in the water-filled hollows of the reef, and after a few minutes the killed (or stunned) fish come to the surface.

/210 cont./

285 remained a floor mat (547)
178

547. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the fala paongo is still used as the typical sleeping mat. (548)

548. Ibid.

Mats are made today in large numbers and the natives willingly and as a matter of course, despite all apathy, take on the hard work of making them according to the traditional and complicated process.

285 Mat-making--as in old times--(549)
462
178

549. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 293.

is typically women's work. Only the coarse pola, for example, are also plaited by men (as in ancient Tonga). (550)

550. Ibid., p. 295.

[249] Even the planting of pandanus is often done by the women. The cutting of the leaves in particular is their business, "since the men might easily break them," and the entire subsequent work process is done by the women exclusively. Plaiting the mats (especially the larger ones) [476] is preferably done cooperatively in a kautaha. (551)

551. See pp. 95/96.

285 An important difference compared to the past is the fact that all
565 goods make by Tongan women of the commoner class are their property,
422 (552)
178

552. See in this connection J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 100.

and that today women of rank no longer make mats as a hobby and for sale, (553)

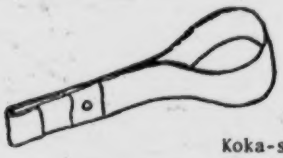
553. Ibid., pp. 100, 295.

especially not for the latter purpose.

285 Basket-making is an important area of Tongan plaitwork, today
178 as it was in the past. The following account may show the most

/218 cont./

287 Before that, however, the dye must be obtained to dye the tapa
386 lengths. This the women also take care of. From a wild koka-tree
412 (Bischofia javanica [flower]) growing on plantation land, and with a
824 scraper (me'a vau koka) made for his purpose and consisting of a metal band in the shape of a loop fastened to a wooden handle or simply a



Koka-scraper (re'a vau koka)
(Expedition Collection, No. 175)

metal band bent into shape, they first scrape off the outer grayish-brown bark layer, and then scrape a quantity of shavings from the reddish bark layer, which they take to the village in coconut-leaf baskets. (The koka-trees survive this procedure, and the same trees
287 are used again and again.) The bark shavings are soaked in water and
386 then laid upon the open, outspread pressing tube (fau tau koka) plaited out of hibiscus bast) which is thereupon tied up and wound with hibiscus bast. This large, sausage-shaped object is tied together at the ends and hung from a strong tree branch. Through the ring that is formed by the pressing-tube they insert a heavy stick and turn it so that the brown koka-color runs into a vessel placed in readiness. In order to squeeze out the "last drop" two or four women (girls) sit on the two ends of the stick.

287 Whereas the beating of the bast lengths is performed by women
386 who work separately or in twos or threes (side by side), and even
461 the koka -pressing is done only by a few women (girls) working to-
476 gether, the making and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large strips is

/218 cont./

287 generally handled by a group of 10 to 16 women (girls). (571)
386
[461]
[476]

571. This is a work team (kautaha) (see pp. 137-140) that carries out the process under the supervision of an older woman; a woman seldom does this work by herself.

[368] They do this work in special houses (572)

572. fale kautaha = house of kautaha (see pp. 134-136, 137-140).

on a structure built of boards, some four to six meters long, that has the shape of a cylinder cut in half lengthwise and resting on its open side. This "drum" the women first wrap with coconut fiber cords, then lay over them "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) and on top of these they place the printing panels (kupesi); the latter are larger or smaller /219/ panels made of pandanus leaves of the paongo species and kaka 'i niu (that is, the natural tissue at the base of the leaf stem of the coconut palm) sewed together with hibiscus bast threads, on which various decorations made from the center rib (tu'a niu) of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm are fastened with coconut fibers (from the husk of the nut) and with single hibiscus bast threads. On top of these printing panels, to protect them, the women again place "raw tapa" pieces (feta'aki) as "pulusi" (covering tapa) which they press firmly against the relief-like patterns and rub with dye-soaked (koka-dye) scraps of tapa (tata). Then the glueing and dyeing (koka'anga) of the large tapa lengths can commence. On the prepared bottom
[381] surface they place a first layer (laulalo) consisting of several feta'aki, (573)

573. The small holes which may result from beating the tapa are first glued with patches of the same material.

press it firmly with the dye-soaked scrap (tata), smear its surface with parboiled (poisonous) manioc roots (as glue) (tou) and place on

/219 cont./

287 this a second layer of tapa (lauolunga) (consisting of feta'aki), (574)
386
(381)

574. The individual feta'aki are properly trimmed as they are laid in place.

which is pressed on (glued) and rubbed with the color-scrap soaked with koka dye, so that on the now brownish surface the darker brown patterns of the printing panels stand out in contrast. With paint-brushes (fo'i fa) (pandanus fruit) the women draw over the individual patterns. When they have finished painting the length of the tapa (575)
(412)

575. They straighten the edge of it with a knife or with scissors.

on the "drum," they pull it down far enough so that on its longitudinal edge more feta'aki pieces can be glued, layered, dyed and painted, whereupon the process is repeated again and again, so that on one side of the drum a longer and longer length of two-ply, dyed and painted tapa builds up. On both edges, which remain uncolored, the women (802) always paint the number of the segment in arabic numerals; one segment 287 is always two hand-spans wide. A finished tapa length is about 20 to 27 meters long and 3.70 to 4.40 meters wide. For special purposes (for example, as a gift to the sovereign) they make tapas that are more than 100 meters long.

The glued and dyed tapa lengths are spread out with the colored side uppermost to dry in the sun. The women also lay them in the grass in front of their dwellings before sunrise, so that the dew (and thereafter the sun) can make the bast cloth "strong and beautiful."

287 The final operation is the redrawing of the decorations on the
53 printing panels. This the owner (576)
386
(422)
(476)

576. The owner of such a long tapa is always the woman who furnished the necessary raw tapa (feta'aki); the kautaha works for each of its members in turn (see pp. 137-140).

/233 cont./

501 small sail (made of European cloth, seldom a mat) for which they put up a small mast. They use the popao to cover the distance between 501 islands lying close together, (615) 505

615. They seldom use the popao for greater distances, as did a Nomukan, for instance, who, in 1951, traveled 14 sea miles with it across the open sea.

for various methods of fishing (see above) and, on account of their slight draft, to board and leave the small sailboats lying at anchor, as well as to load and unload the latter.

396 824 The natives like to make the hull of the popao from the trunk of the breadfruit tree (Artocarpus altilis), but they also use the mango (Mangifera indica L.), the tavahi (Rhus taitensis Guillemin), the toi (Alphitonia zizyphoides [Spreng.] A Gray), the mohe-mohe and, if possible, the tamanu. Men who have particular experience in boat-building, but also those who are doing this work for the first time in their lives, cut the hull of the boat, which is about three to five meters long, out of /234/ one piece of trunk. They also like to [438] "export" roughly hewn hulls from islands were the aforementioned types [435] of wood occur in greater abundance to islands that are poor in them; on Nomuka, for instance, they pay 10 £ T. (breadfruit tree wood) to 15 £ T. (tamanu wood) for such an unfinished boat imported from 'Eua.

396 [465] The owner of the boat-to-be may do the work himself, or a man experienced in boat-building who is provisioned or remunerated (who may receive, for examply, 2 £ T. or a horse) does the work. Often the [476] men work in twos or threes, with relatives (for example, son, father, son-in-law, father-in-law, cousin), friends or other villagers helping. [462] Boat-building is purely men's work.

396 412 To hollow out the dugout, which has been roughly hewn with axes and transverse hatchets, they use especially the small transverse hatchet toki unga ko (with the gouge blade, see p. 200-202). They also